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[623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

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671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

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[191] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

by Hart (1954) for the Riffian tribe of Beni Uriaguel (Ait Wari- 000
yaghri, 99) (This description is closely followed below). Here we find each house widely separated from its neighbors – both in consideration of availability of water and adaptability for defense – and providing shelter usually for a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This household, however, does not constitute the entire extended family; the rest of it, to be found in houses some 1000 feet distant or more, includes the man's married brothers, and their wives and unmarried children. This family, therefore, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; married daughters go to reside with their husband's family. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old extended family splits into as many new extended families as there were married brothers originally (Hart, 1954, pp. 58-59).

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the family 596
elders, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on 42
a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two public notaries proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all after the death of the father. With many sons the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit and is usually divided up among the sons. If any of the family land is held [562]
by daughters, these are usually induced to sell their holdings to their brothers upon marriage, so that these remain in the hands of the family (Hart, 1954, p. 59).

Throughout the Berber territory the extended family may in 596
some cases enlarge its size by admitting strangers. These are usually 597
persons in desparate financial circumstances who have had to sell 735
their property in order to pay off a fine or a blood money debt 609
assessed by their council, such an individual feeling ashamed to remain in his own village or fearing further reprisal, migrates to

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

some other part of the country. If he stops among the Riffians or Shluh he may hire himself out to a landowner in a village; among the Beraber he may put himself under the protection of an influential member by sacrificing a sheep in front of his protector's house or tent as a shame compulsion. In either case he resides with the extended family and contributes his labor; he does not become a member with inheritance rights, however, unless he marries into the extended family with the authorization of the council of elders. This custom of enlarging the household through "adoption" was particularly important in the periods of vendatta warfare, allowing a family to replenish its possibly decimated ranks (Coon, 1931, pp. 90-91; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44; Spillman, 1936, p. 44; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 520-528, 535-536).

c. *Minor Lineages*

Those extended families which can trace their descent through the male line form a common ancestor six or eight generations removed form a minor lineage (minor in the sense that larger lineages may occur). In most Berber tribes this is the largest unit to be based on blood alone. The minor lineage is known among the Shluh as an *ikhs* (pl. *ikhsan*; "bone") or *afus* (pl. *ifassen*; "hand") (Adam, 1951, pp. 39, 69; Berque, 1955, pp. 30-40; Doutté, 1905, p. 8; Montagne, 1930, pp. 43-44, 151; Querleux, 1915, p. 21); as an *asoun* (pl. *issoun*), *tigemmi* (pl. *tigumma*, "house"), or *adouar* (pl. *idouaren*; from Arabic *douar*, "camp circle") among the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1952, p. 312; Querleux, 1915, p. 22); as an *ikhs* or *tarfiqth* (pl. *tarfiqin*) among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 90; Hart, 1954, pp. 60-63); and as an *ikhs* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 138). It has been variously designated in the literature as a "family" (Doutte, 1905; Montagne, 1930; Querleux, 1915), a "village-segment" or *hauma* (Coon, 1931, Montagne, 1930), a "village" (Coon, 1931), or a "clan" (Abes, 1917; Hart, 1954; Querleux, 1915). The minor lineage may, under certain conditions, constitute a village-segment, and under other conditions, a village – the correspondence of such a kinship group with such a population focus being a matter of great variability and confusion. It is not, however, a clan, for it is endogamous under most circumstances,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239).

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor